[Post Chaco Period]

did continue these functions for some time after the arrival of the Terena in Brazil, but these functions were carried out with increasing laxity. They say that men began to marry women belonging to the opposite moiety and that the children of such marriages could choose the moiety to which they wished to belong. Furthermore, during ceremonials one could temporarily join the opposite moiety although still maintaining the membership of the moiety into which one was born. The gradual break-down of moiety endogamy and ceremonial activity appears to be associated with the enforced dispersion of the Terena. When families and individuals found themselves scattered far and wide on the fazendas and in the towns it was not always possible to follow tribal customs, the tendency being to copy the ways of the Brazilians among whom they lived. The break-down of the moiety organization evidently proceeded so far that when the Terena again settled, this time on reservations, after 1910 the old moiety customs were not reinstituted.

Today the moieties no longer function as ceremonial units. If asked to which moiety he belongs, a Terena will give an answer but he will not volunteer this information. As vital functioning units, therefore, the moieties no longer exist. The old dances which were organized on a moiety basis have largely disappeared. The really important social activities today are centered around the "bate-pau," a Brazilian pageant with Terena elements, and football. In each of these performances the performers are divided into two groups with different body paintings in the "bate-pau," and different colored sweaters in the football teams. In the "bate-pau" there are two dance leaders who select their followers and train them for the performance. The dance, as will be described later, is performed by the two groups acting in opposition to one another. Competition is keen, the winning dance team receiving the applause of the village. Football, likewise, is a performance in which opposition of two groups is a primary feature, each being led by its duly appointed captain. In addition, when we know that the Terena in most villages are divided into Catholics and Protestants, each sect having its own characteristic leaders and social functions, it is difficult to avoid the conclusion that the Terena have been

178 182 616 [535] 177 527 535 [526] 177 182 795

[P. 33-A]

Native dances like the shaman dance and the "bate-pau" are organized by dance leaders. In economic affairs there is some degree of specialization, owing to the presence of stores, masons, carpenters, and commercial agricultural activities.

The Terena as a people are linked to the non-Indian world, first, by being made a part of the Brazilian State through the activities of the Indian Service and its representatives, the Post managers. Secondly, they are linked to the Catholic and Protestant churches by means of the missionaries active among them. Thirdly, they are economically linked to the fazendas and neighboring towns owing to dependence upon wage work.

The attitude of the local Brazilian toward the Terena is one of tolerant disdain. Like other Indians they are sometimes called "bugres," a term of abuse associated with sodomy and heresy. The Indian, a Brazilian will say, is "a drunkard, a thief, lazy, and unreliable. He works when he feels like it and will leave his job for no reason at all." There is, however, no discrimination on racial grounds; if an Indian is educated and a good worker he is accepted as an equal. The Brazilian treats a Terena as a member of a minority group and points out the social characteristics of this group. A Terena, on the other hand, accepts Brazilians in general as superiors but adds that if he were better educated he could compete with a Brazilian on equal terms. That these attitudes are rather class attitudes than race attitudes is revealed by the statement which a Terena made about the Caduveo, "If the Caduveo would only stop hunting and killing one another and start farming like we do they would be better off." The Terena recognize the fact that the Caduveo were once great warriors and held a superior position. But as they are now poor hunters they are considered as having lower status than the Terena. Status differences between the Indian groups and between the Brazilians and Indians are, therefore, primarily based on economic and social conditions rather than on racial differences.

THE LIFE CYCLE

BIRTH (IPUHICOTI-HIUKÁ)

The Terena recognize that pregnancy is caused by sexual intercourse. A woman becomes aware that she is pregnant when her menses cease and

[Post Chaco Period]
[Chaco Period]

The social tensions arising out of the competitive nature of Catholic and Protestant missionary activity among the Terena is something which both Protestant and Catholic missionaries deplore and something which causes considerable anxiety to the officials of the Brazilian Indian Service. For some time there has been an understanding between Catholics, Protestants, and the Brazilian Government that when Protestants go into a new area first the Catholics should stay away from that area. Similarly when the Catholics have opened up a new region in the interior the Protestants should remain away. This rule, however, either was not in effect or was not adhered to in the case of the Terena. At present, of course, the rule would be difficult to enforce among the Terena because the two creeds are well entrenched among the people. The tension between the Protestant and Catholic sects, however, would decrease if the Catholic and Protestant missionaries ceased in their efforts to convert individuals from one creed to the other and accepted the "status quo."

Moreover, the presence of shamanism in the religious life of the Terena cannot be forgotten. As matters now stand there appears to be a threefold struggle for allegiance between Catholicism, Protestantism, and shamanism. Shamanism, as we saw, is no longer pure paganism, having adopted elements of Christianity. The outcome of these differences in belief will, it seems, depend on the nature of the future development of Terena social life. If left to themselves in a Catholic country the Terena may overcome these differences by eventually developing a type of Catholicism with a strong admixture of shamanism.

SECULAR ENTERTAINMENT

DANCES AND GAMES

The important dances of the Terena today are the *kóhi-shoti-kipahé* (called "bate-pay" by Brazilians) and the *ohéo'koti*. Although these dances now reveal Brazilian elements, the Terena consider them as Terena dances and distinguish them from ordinary Brazilian dances, horse races, foot races, and other forms of secular entertainment in which they participate on saints' days and public holidays.

While they lived in the Chaco, the Terena had many dances and games which they still remember,

although they no longer perform them. As one would expect, the ceremonial season opened at harvest time. This was a period of abundant food, enabling the people to remain in their villages. The fresh garden foods, no doubt, were a welcome change from stored foods, fish, game, wild roots, fruits, and herbs—besides adding vigor alike to the bodies of men, women, and children.

The cutting of the first ripened ears of maize was celebrated by dancing the *kochóvonunéti*. This masked dance was organized by one of the moiety chiefs at whose house the feasting took place. A number of men would repair to a temporary shelter where they painted themselves, put rhea feathers around their waists, glued cotton on their faces, and placed a net over their heads. After making themselves as frightening as possible the disguised dancers sallied forth. They went from door to door in the village telling the women and children that they were the ghosts of dead Indians, throwing sticks, and going through various antics. When the women and children saw the masked dancers they ran away and hid in real or imagined fright.

After tiring themselves the dancers went to the house of a *unati axhé*, or moiety chief, who supplied the dancers and others with honey beer. The dancers were supposed to drink until they could not remain on their feet. The more a man drank the more honor he gained in the eyes of his friends. This dance appears to have had a religious significance in the past. It was associated with the gathering of the first harvest and with the ghosts of the dead. It may be a very ancient Arawak feature dating from the time when the Terena were still predominantly agricultural.

On the day following the *kochóvonunéti*, the Terena played a game called *piritúti*. A man, selected for his marksmanship in throwing sticks, would dress, paint, and mask himself as on the day before. The game consisted in throwing sticks at other men who tried to approach him. The *piritúti*, or masked player, came into the village from the fields and hiding behind houses he would try to hit as many people as possible. The men of the village tried to approach within touching distance and if anyone touched the player he would be the winner. The game continued until someone was able to touch the *piritúti*. The Terena

explain that this game was a form of training for war. 527 526

Later in the autumn season, when the Pleiades were high in the sky, the *ohéo'koti*, or shaman dance, was performed. As this dance is directly connected with shamanism, it was described under that heading. The next ceremonial act was the performance of the *chúkuchú*, or "tadique" as it is called in Portuguese. This game is still played by the Caduveo and appears, in the past, to have had a wide distribution in the Chaco. 756 527 535

The *chúkuchú* was, in fact, a contest between the members of the two moieties and was customarily played shortly after the *ohéo'koti*. Each moiety chief, *unati ashé*, put on his short ceremonial *shiripá* and numerous necklaces and painted his face black and white. The two chiefs would then sit down cross-legged facing each other in the village plaza. Each held in his lap a small drum, *póoku*, made by stretching a coati skin over a clay pot, and in his hand a *kali-itáaka;* each chief was surrounded by the adult members of his moiety. 616 526 529

When the chief commenced to sing, the contest began. Small groups, equal in number, were selected from each side and began a mock fight, trying to knock each other down. It was customary for the members of the *unati* to begin, the commoners coming later, and even the women participated in the final stages of the contest. The game consisted in each man or woman trying to knock down his or her opposite number. In this fight only bare hands could be used and it appears to have been something like a boxing match. While the mock battle was on the chiefs continued to sing, beating their drums with one hand and shaking their gourd rattles with the other. When all members of one side had been knocked down, another group was selected. The winners were always loudly cheered by their respective moieties. After the mock fight was finished the winners would be lauded and the feasting and drinking would begin, each moiety eating apart from the other.

In the past, then, the *kochúvonunéti*, *piritúti*, *ohéo'koti*, and the *chúkuchú* were the principal dances and games performed during the harvest season. This does not mean, however, that the Terena did not perform ceremonials at other times of the year. Marriages, puberty ceremonies, and events connected with succession of chiefs were 527 526 [24]

[Chaco Period]
[Post Chaco Period]

European origin of this ceremony is obvious. The "caboclos" of the States of Minas Gerais and São Paulo have a pageant which is Portuguese in origin and which represents a peace ceremony between the Portuguese Christians and the Moors, in which kings, princesses, soldiers, and ambassadors are present. Although the Terena no longer remember the origin of the *láia*, certain similarities enable us to say with some assurance that the Terena have incorporated many of the elements of the "congada" into the *láia*.

The really important dance of the Terena at present is the *kóhi-shoti-kipahé*, or "bate-pau." Although this dance can be performed at any time, a special performance is put on during "Indian Day," April 19. The dancers are divided into two groups, one being called "mansa" (tame) and the other, "brava" (wild). The members of each side paint their faces and bodies in a special way. The dancers of one side paint the right arm and shoulder red and the left arm and shoulder white, while the dancers of the other side paint one side white and the other black. Thus, although the moiety organization of the Terena has broken down, the "bate-pau" resembles a moiety dance. The names of the two sides (tame and wild) are Portuguese versions of the names of the moieties. The principal differences between the dance organization and the old moiety organization are that individuals can choose the side on which they wish to dance and that the two groups are headed by dance leaders irrespective of their old moiety membership. In addition to body painting, the dancers wear short skirts made from rhea feathers, a rhea feather diadem, and bangles below the knee.

The music for the dance is provided by two drummers and one or two flute players who stand in front of the dancers while they are performing circles, or march in front of the dancers when they move from one place to another in two parallel lines, each line being led by its dance leader. Each dancer holds a bamboo cane about 4 or 5 feet long in his right hand and has a short bow strapped to his back. A hole is made in the center of the bow in which a small arrow is placed, one end being fastened to the bow string. The bow is used in one of the sequences to make a rhythmic sound.

The "bate-pau" has to be seen and heard to be appreciated. For a month the dancers practice

[Post Chaco Period]

every night so that every sequence can be executed more or less automatically. The two leaders demand strict discipline, reprimand careless dancers, and are careful about the selection of the drummers and flute players. Drinking is forbidden during the practice period. 535 527

On the appointed day the dancers meet at dawn in one of the broad streets in the village of Bananal. They form two parallel lines, the dancers standing abreast of one another about 2 feet apart, each line being headed by its dance leader. Facing them are the musicians. When the music starts the leaders guide their respective columns, one turning to the right, the other to the left, but each man in the column must come to the position first held by his leader before he begins making the turn. In this way the two columns form circles, the leaders meeting where the rear men in the columns began, then dancing abreast they come to their original positions. During each of these turns the dancers go through a different sequence. In the first turn one end of the stick rests on the thigh while it is held upright in the hand. This sequence has a characteristic step. In the next the stick is carried like a spear. In the following step the stick is held in the middle and following the leaders each man strikes his stick against that of the man abreast of him—once below, twice above—making a triple clack, clack-clack sound. In one sequence the bow is used instead of the stick. In another the dancers intermingle in small circles, beating their sticks. The dance begins slowly, the tempo increasing as the dance continues. The movements give one the impression of contest between two columns, as if they were going through a mock battle.

After the sequences are completed, the columns separate, each following a drummer and a flute player. They go through the village and dance before each house, receiving coffee or some other beverage from the occupants. The two columns keep dancing until one by one the two leaders lose their followers. The leader who loses all his followers first is the loser. The winning dance leader is then carried on the shoulders of his followers, seated on a stretcher made from the dancing sticks. The chief of the village then provides food and drink for all the dancers.

To an observer the non-Indian characteristics of the *kóhi-shoti-kipahé*, or "bate-pau," are at once [177]

[P.50-A]

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apparent. While it is true that the body paintings, the rhea feather skirts and diadems, and the flutes and the bows appear to be of Indian origin, one is nevertheless impressed by the European tempo of the dance rhythm. The drum used [534] is not the skin-covered pot used in the *chúkuchú* but a European-type drum suspended in front by a strap around the neck. The manner in which the sticks are used is European in appearance. There is no singing, so common in Indian dances.

When questioned about the "bate-pau," which, literally, means "beat the stick," the Terena say that it is post-Chaco, in other words, that it was danced only after the Terena settled in their present location in Brazil. They say that it was revealed to one of their shamans in a dream, who then taught the Indians how to dance it. Actually the Brazilian origin of the "bate-pau" is as easy to trace as the origin of the *láia*. In Brazil there is a pageant known as the "mozambique" which is danced by the "caboclos." Like the "congada," it is a reenactment of the historic conflict of Christian and Moor in Portugal. The Terena no doubt observed the "mozambique" while they were working together with the Brazilian "caboclos" on the fazendas and adopted it, adding to it their own body paintings and costumes. The opposition between Christian and Moor fitted into the Terena pattern of moiety opposition in ceremonial activities.

In addition to the dance of the shamans and the "bate-pau," the Terena dance modern dances (polka and one-step) which they have learned while working on the fazendas. A dance is generally held on Saturday night, additional dances being held on saints' days and political holidays. The music is provided by a violinist and an accordion player, the tunes being Paraguayan and [533] Bolivian in origin. The typical Brazilian samba has not diffused this far west as yet.

Usually a man invites people to a dance at 535 his house and arranges for the music. About 7 527 or 8 o'clock in the evening the young people wander slowly to the place where the dance will be held, the girls and young men going in separate groups, only married couples going together with their children. The owner of the house places benches outside his house on which the girls sit. A little to one side sit the musicians. Older people squat on the ground, the women hold-

ing their children in their arms. The only light is a lantern or two in the house. The young men stand around in small groups and when the music starts they rush for their partners. After the dance is over they leave their partners without escorting them to their seats. While the dance is in progress men and boys sit on the grass just outside the dance circle and play cards and other games. Usually there are a few intoxicated men who provide a certain amount of comic relief. Quarreling and fighting are not common during dances. Generally the dance is over by midnight. 535 527 [578]

FOOTBALL

The Terena say that football (soccer) was first introduced into Bananal in 1933 from Taunay, the nearest Brazilian settlement. The first captain was Eleuterio. For one reason or another interest declined until 1941 when Leão and Bertolino formed a football club. The manager of the Post is a football enthusiast and assists the Terena in organizing games. There are, today, three football teams in Bananal—two leading teams and a third practice team. Players are selected by Bertolino and Leão, and anyone who is able to play or is not a personal enemy of the two captains can enter the teams. One team, however, is predominantly Protestant while the other is predominantly Catholic. The manager of the Post favors the Catholic team. The members of the No. 1 team wear green-and-red-colored shirts and have a black and white flag. Two football teams also exist in the neighboring Terena village of Cachoeirinha. 526 [177]

Each player has to buy his own shirt which costs from 6 to 7 dollars. The wife of the manager of the Post presented each player with a pair of shorts and gave each team its flag. The captains bought three footballs for about 1 dollar each. About half of the players prefer to play barefoot, the others using cheap shoes costing about a dollar a pair. There is a football field located near the Catholic church in Bananal where the teams practice in the evenings and and where matches are played against the neighboring teams.

From observation it can be said that the Terena are comparatively good players, for they win about as many games against the Brazilians as they lose.

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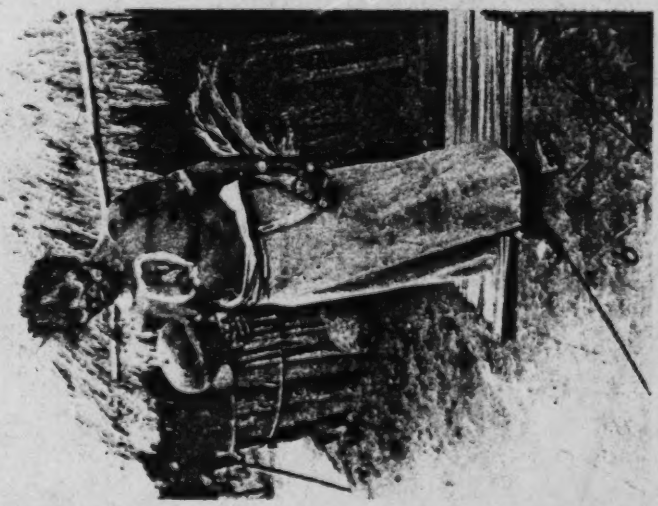

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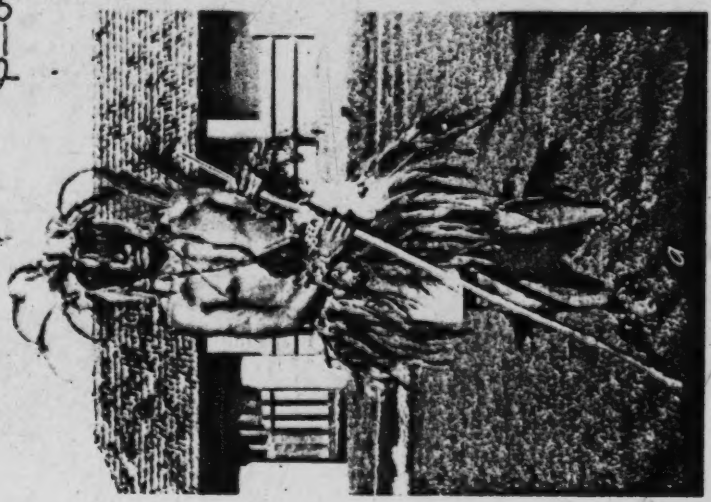

Plate 8.—Terena dancer and rhumba. a, "Bate-pau" dancer dressed in rhea feathers. b, Rhumba with half-flasks (rattle) and kid pelts (rhea feather boots).

[End Plate 8]

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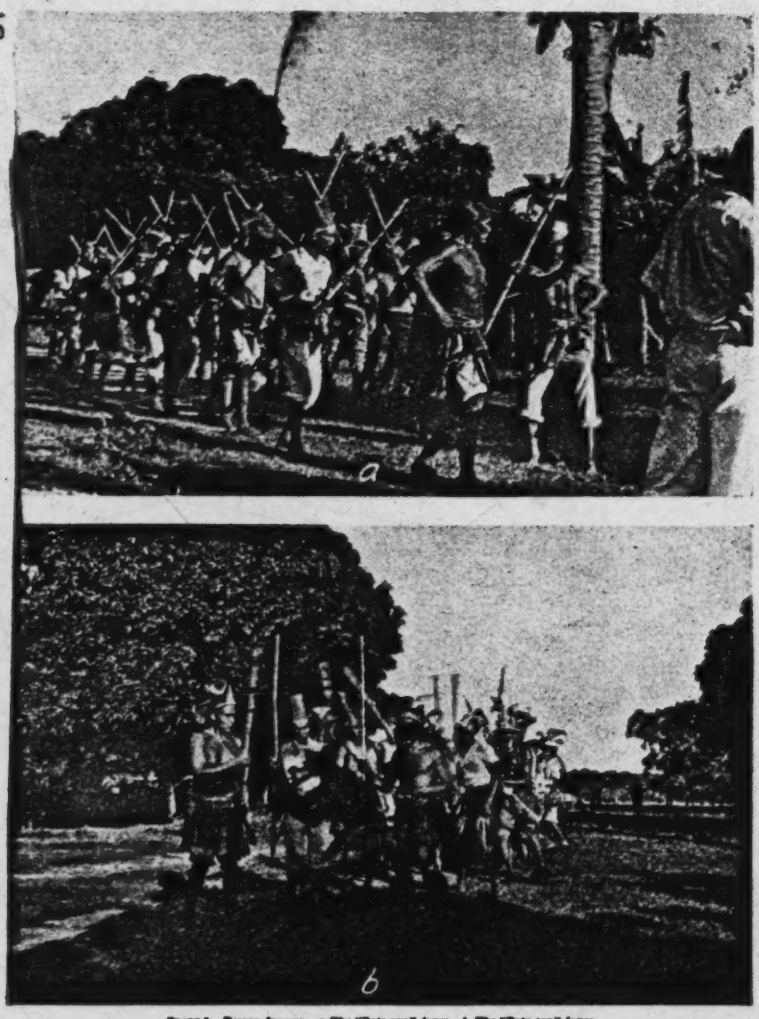

PLATE 9.—Terena dances. a, The "Bate-pau" dance. b, The "Bate-pau" dance.

[End Plate 9]
[P. 81]

3:Oliveira--46a E-5,1 (1955-1958) 1960 SK7 Guana SK7
Terena

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Parade of the "Bate-Pau" (Kohixoti-Kipahê) dancers in the alden streets, with the fife and drum in front. (Cachoeirinha, 1955)

3:Oliveira--46b E-5,4 (1955-1958) 1960 SK7 Guana SK7
Terena

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Terêna dancers dressed and adorned for the "Bate-Pau."
(Cachoeirinha, 1955)

/49 cont./ [Traditional Culture]

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century the old stratification was far less operative. For fuller descriptions of the "Tadique," see Altenfelder, 1949:364-365.

616 535 526 178 114 534 Already at the time when Rattray-Hay was with the Terêna of Bananal, the Mootó was no longer performed, there remaining only the Kohixoti-kipahé or "bate-pau" dance--as noted by the missionary--and, probably, the Ivuixotevogomoto or "race of the little horses," both dances noted in 1896 by Bach and witnessed by us in Cachoeirinha. The first consisted of a series of evolutions by two groups, "Harará-iti" (red) and "Hononó-iti" (blue), armed with pellet bows and sticks, dancing to the sounds of a small bamboo flute and a drum. (77) The second

77. The dance consists of various movements or scenes, the chief ones being the following: "Isukokoti-kiirí-étakati" (hits the tip of the bamboo), "Isukokoti-kukukê" (hits in the middle), "Isukokoti-dutiku" (hits on the back), "Wokoti" (draws the bow), "Wekooti" (passes under), "Aluókóti" (climbs upon), and "Hiokexoti-pepe-é-ke" (dancing to the drumbeat).

one, looking more like a game than a dance, also consisted in the confrontation of two groups, headed by their caciques, mounted on outlines of horses cut out of leather: the aim was to slip spears through a small ring hanging from a bow. In both dances points were added up, so that it was always possible to know which group was the winner.

/49 cont./ [Traditional Culture]

616 It cannot be stated with Rattray-Hay's certainty, in his
535 passage cited above, that the old ceremonial division between
178 Xumonó and Sukirikionó still regulated strictly secular festivals such as the "bate-pau dance" or the "race of the little horses." We were able to ascertain in Cachoeirinha that for the composition of the "Harará-iti" and "Honónó-iti" groups the Xumonó and Sukirikionó distinctions were not respected. This means that, if these moieties functioned in the regulation of the Kohixoti-kipahé in Rattray-Hay's time and in Bananal, nowadays in Cachoeirinha, Ipegue, and Bananal itself (aldeas that still organize these dances with some regularity) the moieties no longer regulate either the playful or ceremonial activities.
[177] Today they are reduced to a mere tradition, which is under-
[162] standable in view of the fact that it would have been impossible for them to retain their original function /50/ (regulation of marriage) or even those that followed (ceremonial and playful), as the old social structure gradually broke down through the process of acculturation, which intensified with the rise of neo-Brazilian nuclei in the vicinities of the aldeas.

593 Still on the subject of social structure, other aspects are deserving of notice. The first refers to the emphasis laid by the tribe on the solidarity of the group of brothers and sisters, in accordance with the principle of the unity of the "sibling"
601 group, formulated by Radcliffe-Brown. (78) If we analyze

78. Cf. 1952:64-67.

the kinship terminology of the Terêna, for example, we find that the terms used for brothers (sisters)--whether Ego is male or female--are applicable to both parallel and cross cousins.
601 This would lead to the impossibility of marriage within the
582 "sibling" group, i.e., among consanguineal relatives in Ego's generation, which constitutes an additional marriage-regulation
[178] technique aside from the moieties and strata. This, incidentally, permits us to classify the Guaná-Terêna kinship system as

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Scene from the "Bate-Pau" (Cachoeirinha, 1955)

3:Oliveira--70b E-5,4 (1955-1958) 1960 SK7 Guana SK7
Terena

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Scene from the "Bate-Pau," where the two groups, Harara-Iti and Hononé-Iti, appear, led by their respective "Caciques." (Cachoeirinha, 1955)

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184 us to differentiate (a) the traditional local groups from (b) com-
177 munities formed by individuals coming from fazendas, (182)
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> 182. In spite of almost all the Terêna population having lived on fazendas, at least for a relatively short period, some local groups were not broken up altogether, making possible a regrouping, to their benefit, of scattered families which, in a former time, were tied to them: in this situation are Cachoeirinha, Ipegue, and Bananal.

leads us to verify the existence of greater receptivity to new cultural elements in the aldeas of more recent formation (b) such as Buriti, aside from the already-mentioned Francisco Horta and Aldeinha, which are included in the first category (multiple ethnic composition), and for this reason, are "doubly" open. União appears here as a special case, even though it is the most recently created aldea; its members did not come from fazendas, but from a community like Bananal, and thus are not very different from the Protestant "community" from which they split for circumstantial reasons. (183)

183. Cf. pp. 120-123.

178 In the first (a) group of aldeas, for example, there is
●535 still in force the "bate-pau dance" (Kohitxoti-kipahé), as well
527 as the "race of the little horses" (Ivuixote-vogomoto), as traditional play activities performed on festive days, such as Indian Day, September 7 /Independence Day/, /115/ etc.
648 These "games," already mentioned in Chapter III, were actually

/115 cont./

178 revived by the Serviço de Proteção aos Índios, because its
535 officials believed that they were thus "respecting" the indi-
548 genous culture along the lines recommended by the rules of the organization. It cannot be said that these festivities were carried out, in the past, on specific days. At least, at the end of the 19th century--to judge by the observations of Bach (184) when he refers in particular to the "little-horse

184. 1916:92.

race"--they already were not subject to a fixed calendar.
178 The effort of the Indian posts (now less usual) combined with
535 the stimulus of visitors and "tourists" (yearning to see some-
541 thing exotic, in a region so "poor" in aboriginal oddities) made the "bate-pau" and the "little-horse race" the big attraction offered by the Terêna. Since these "games" involve a series of expenses (fabric, colored tissue paper, bells, rum, etc.)--and the Indians are seldom in a position to meet them--there arose the need for a "producer": a person who would give some money to meet the expenses. Thus a role was institutionalized which is filled now by the superintendent, now by the visitor or "tourist," in short by any individual who wishes to see the "games" and finance them. Very well.
184 These games did not survive in any of the aldeas of the second
178 (b) group, owing, according to their members, to their having
535 "forgotten the scenes and the steps!" But it seems that more
829 than this, it is due to the lack of enthusiasm with which these
561 communities consider the possibility of performing these "games," chiefly owing to the facetious responses of the new generation, who "are ashamed to play." Although the elders (generally the leaders or "caciques of the games") of the traditionalist aldeas--in group (a)--usually protest against this attitude of the young people, it is so powerful that it prevents, or at least makes very difficult, the performance of the "bate-pau dance" or the "little-horse race." An interesting

/115 cont./ An interesting
178 example of the importance of this recreational institution in
535 the old communities--group (a)--, although they may, like
797 Limão Verde, have a multiple ethnic composition, is the re-
796 birth of the "bate pau" thanks to the action of the Redemptorist padres who took upon themselves the role of "producer." It seems that the first attempt was made on January 20, St. Sebastian Day, when there was a procession that included among its members, "in closed /116/ ranks," the group of dancers of the "bate pau!" This shows the strategic use of "secular games" in religious ceremonies. And the result of this was so positive that the Redemptorists were scheduling a repeat performance for August 1, day of St. Alfonso, patron of Limão Verde. (185)

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185. I do not believe that it would be difficult to revive these "secular games" in the communities of Brejão or Passarinho, in view not only of their homogeneous ethnic composition but of their relative antiquity, which makes them likely to include some old Terêna individuals familiar with the "scenes and steps." Moreira, an aldea even more recent in origin than Passarinho, was formed almost exclusively by individuals coming from the fazendas, most of whom had never seen a "bate pau" or a "little-horse race," which would make their

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participation in activities of this sort very difficult.

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It is true that these variables are significant to an understanding of the survival of these "games," and also (in terms of the same mechanisms) for the study of certain cultural complexes still in force in the old aldeas, such as the traditional forms of burying the dead (with all of their belongings), the use of kinship terms, or the peculiar sexual division of labor, all of these complexes having disappeared from the communities of the second (b) group, as well as from those of multiple ethnic composition. But it cannot be said that such variables have the same importance for the analysis of the magico-religious rituals organized by the Koixomuneti. Wherever there is a Koixomuneti--and they are spread through all the aldeas and even in the cities, as we shall see below--the rituals are carried out, their "results" varying of course (according to the testimony of the Terêna) with the mastery of magical practices possessed by their agents. What can be said is that the old Oheokoti, heralded--as we saw in Chapter III--by the appearance of the Pleiades, today has practically disappeared, replaced as it has been by the basically Catholic activities of Holy Week. Nevertheless, there are indications that up to 1955 (!), in Bananal, the Oheokoti was performed with some regularity in its traditional form, i.e., with the magico-religious ceremonies followed by the activities of the Yanakalu, by the collective meal, and concluded with the Mootó. (186)

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186. The informants, in Bananal, told us that it is becoming increasingly difficult to gather participants, and that on the last occasion they managed to get only ten individuals, counting old and young.

/408 cont./
796 whereupon the musicians go into their little houses and start
[533] noisy music. Then there are dancing and drinking the whole night through, and not until the first gray of dawn do the festival
796 participants disperse. During the forenoon of the second day all
541 the young men gather at the plaza, split up into two opposing parties, and attack each other until one party is beaten. This fight takes place without weapons, but the fists are used vigorously, and most have bloody heads after the battle. I was shown a young Indian who had lost an eye this way. After the fight everybody
796 gathers in the hut of the chief. One of the musicians, /409/ who
[225] is lavishly adorned, carries stag antlers in his right hand and limps to a hut pointed out to him, knocks there with the antlers on the door post, and limps back. Then the owner of the hut comes out and asks what is wanted, whereupon everybody shouts: A head of cattle (cow or bull)! (The whole tribe buys this head of cattle
[262] before the festival.) Then the man goes back and fetches the head of cattle, which is immediately slaughtered and eaten. As soon as the meat is consumed and the caña drunk up, everyone goes home, and with this the festival is over.

796 The second great festival of the Terenos is called mainu and
541 sometimes lasts 14 days. Early in the morning on the first day,
562 all the men have a rendezvous at a place kept secret from the
[302] women, paint themselves until they are unrecognizable, and
[411] then rush shouting into the village, shooting their guns and bows, and act as though they were enemies and were about to attack the village. The women in the meantime have armed themselves with clubs, fruits, etc., and a mock battle then develops. The women throw gourds, clubs, etc. at the heads of their men and
796 finally drive them out of the village. In the afternoon the men
535 gather at the village plaza and place themselves in two rows.
[237] Then an oddly bedecked dancer appears. He wears a coat of
[302] leaves, his head is decorated with horns and feathers, his body painted with black and red paint. Under his right arm he carries a lance, in his left hand a club; he acts as though he were very tired, makes all sorts of grimaces in connection with this, limps

/409 cont./

796 a few hundred steps away from the company, pretends to eat,
535 returns again to the assemblage, and for some hours carries on this farcical nonsense, with which the spectators are marvelously amused. This dance finishes the first festival day. In the plaza, usually in the middle, there is built a hut which the men enter
[237] on the afternoon of the next day. Five or six of them make them-
[302] selves unrecognizable by hanging ostrich feathers over their eyes, decorating their heads with crowns of feathers, painting face and body, and tying the choatie around their legs. Then they dance, one after the other, twice around the plaza and finally return to the hut, whereupon five or six others repeat the same dance. This dance is performed every day for a few hours as long as the
[562] festival lasts. The women are not permitted to enter the hut in which the men dress up, for the big joke is that the women must guess who the dancers are. The festival lasts a longer or shorter time, depending on how much caña is on hand, and ends when the supply is exhausted.

/91 cont./

796 of the seven stars; this fiesta lasts seven days. In all the aldeas, in front of each rancho, they build a straw roof with two slopes two meters square and one meter 80 centimeters in height, supported upon six bamboos. Under this roof they fix a forked bamboo stick from which they hang a tuft of feathers and a gourd. They go in large groups from rancho to rancho, and half an hour at a time, singing and making noise with the gourd. On the fourth day, at dawn, they make a great racket with horns, shout, and set off powder; it is an awesome noise, so awesome that even the animals are frightened, accompanying the music with their cries and moans. The fifth day a masked man appears, with a little bag in his hand, acting clownishly and asking for contributions from all for the great banquet which they will all celebrate.

[534] Accompanied by music and by drums and flutes they celebrate the banquet and dances, which end on the seventh day with great libations.

541 Thadique. This is a very crude hand game, which consists of /92/ fisticuffs between men and between women, formed into two large teams which the caciques select, who also later break them up, since after a brief fight they all file off in good harmony.

526 Horse racing. From a piece of hide they make a horse, which they decorate with feathers and little rags, then mounting this horse as on a hobbyhorse. At about 35 meters from the point of departure they place a hoop and in the middle of this they hang a small dead bird, and they have to strike the bird with a small stiff, very sharp-pointed stick. They start off together, running at full tilt, the loser having to pay one bottle of caña, and the winner receiving two bottles of caña. This fiesta generally lasts two to three days and has no set time, being celebrated in each aldea at a different time.

● 535 Dances. I attended four different dances and all of them
[114] were very harmonious; all of them were accompanied by an
[534] orchestra of drums and flutes.

/92 cont./

535 orchestra of drums and flutes. In front of the dancers are lo-
[622] cated two pairs of caciques, who witness the dance. They are accustomed to take part in the dance from the smallest Indian to the oldest; couples join up man with man and woman with woman, the men to the right and the women to the left of the music; when they arrive in front of the caciques, each pair is obliged to salute; the dance goes on in this way for three-
[114] quarters of an hour. I witnessed this dance in Agachy, when 48 couples took part, all of whom danced keeping time well with the music.

In the second dance the pairs of men form an arc in front of the music, but with their backs to it. The couples of women pass through the middle of the arc, and when they come out of it they split up, one to the right and one to the left, reuniting in front of the caciques. In this way the dance went on for half an hour, the men passing once more before the caciques
[114] for the defile. It was also in Agachy that I witnessed this dance.

[114] The third dance, which I saw right there, was similar to the first, but the dancers carried in their hands bunches of flowers and branches of wild plants, with which they saluted when they passed in front of the caciques.

[114] This fourth dance was witnessed by me in the aldea of Santa Ana. In front of the two pairs of caciques and four musicians with their drums and flutes, 22 couples formed up, men and women in equal parts. The dancers carried in their hands a piece of tacuara /a kind of bamboo/ more than one and one-half meters long. In files, the men to the /93/ right and the women to the left, and taking double steps to the rhythm of the music, they alternately struck the tacuaras against one another. This provided a pleasant sight; they did it so well and with such cleverness they seemed to be true artists. This dance lasted an hour and a half, without respite, leaving the dancers, on finishing, completely exhausted.